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THE MAROONS.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

FRÈME'S STORY.

"MANY years passed in this manner," said Frème, resuming his narrative. "From time to time I acquired the certain knowledge that I was not wholly forgotten, for occasionally, when Marie saw me, which was indeed not very often, she never failed to send me a friendly salute with her hand, or to bid me a good day. But these kind proofs of friendship only augmented my grief, by strengthening what I then felt to be a hopeless affection, which I sought in vain to stifle.

"I had attained the age of twenty, I think, when one night, on leaving my cabin to repair to the spot where I was accustomed to stand and gaze at her habitation, I saw a cloud of sparks shoot up in the air, apparently issuing from the very place I was going to. At first I thought I must be under a delusion, but presently a lurid glare lighted the sky, and I then knew a catastrophe had happened. I set off running at the very top of my speed, and soon ascertained that the house of the Director was indeed in flames. On reaching it, the devouring element was pouring out from the windows; yet every thing was quiet: all the negroes were in quarters, fast asleep. The very inmates of the dwelling were sleeping over the furnace.

"I cannot describe my sensations," he continued. "I was seized as with a kind of madness, and without thinking of raising any alarm; forgetting every thing and everybody but Marie; heedless, too, of the great danger I ran, I clambered up the side of the house, and gaining access by one of the open

windows on the upper storey, began crying out 'Fire! fire!' as loud as I could."

"Ah! I remember! I remember," whispered Marie, shuddering at the bare recollection of the scene.

"No one responded," resumed Frème, "but I continued shouting, when presently I beheld a young white girl come rushing along the passage in which I was, evidently without knowing whither she was running. She was making straight for the stairs, which were already the prey of the flames, and by which flight was impossible. I placed myself in her path, and she fell fainting into my arms."

"Brave Frème! dear Frème! But for thee, I had lost my life," whispered the young woman.

"I carried her back into her room," resumed he, "and placed her in an arm-chair; then buffeting my way through the suffocating smoke—for the floor was already burning hot—I dragged off the bed-clothes, and with them made a rope which I fastened to the window-shutters. I next wrapped her up, as well as I could, in the garments she had left by the bed-side, and taking her up in my arms—all unconscious as she was—accomplished my descent in safety. We were scarcely out of the chamber, before the flames made their way through the flooring, and soon after burst from the window by which we had escaped. I felt brave as a lion, having her precious life to save, and hurried away with her to my cabin, taking the most secluded path to avoid meeting with any one.

"Poor Marie!" continued he; "she looked like a corpse as she lay extended on my mat. She scarcely breathed, or offered any other

sign of life. I removed some of the clothes in which she was enveloped, and sprinkled water over her forehead and lips. I knelt down beside her, awaiting with breathless anxiety, her return to consciousness. I could scarcely believe but it was all a dream. I felt supremely happy in the thought that I had snatched her from the very jaws of death! And what a death! I would have sacrificed my life rather than have then been torn from her side, for her existence was far more precious to me than my own.

"But now the alarm-bells began to ring, and to rouse the people of the plantation. I soon heard the tramp of hurried footsteps, and loud cries of 'Fire! fire!' Some one came and knocked at the door of my cabin. I would not answer. What cared I what became of the house, or even of its inhabitants. My treasure lay there, before me. Besides, nothing would have saved the house. It was by that time only one vast furnace. So I let the party knock, and call out for me, until I suppose he concluded I was either already gone or fast asleep, and went away.

"Soon after, Marie stirred. Her eyelids trembled first, and then her eyes opened. I felt greatly troubled, for I knew not the effect which finding herself in so strange a situation might produce. Presently she heaved a deep sigh, and, rubbing her eyes, exclaimed, in a scarcely audible voice:

"Where am I? What has happened to me?"

"I could not reply at first; but taking courage, I told her what had occurred, and added a few words to calm her. She looked at me full in the face for a moment, and then made a sudden attempt to rise. But her strength failed. She fell back on the mat and burst into tears.

"I need not dwell upon the sequel," he continued, after a pause, "except to say that Marie was grateful, and that we were married some years after."

"I must supply what thou wouldst conceal, Frême," interrupted Marie. Then addressing herself to the stranger, she continued: "Frême is noble by birth. Nature gave him a black skin, but a generous soul. She whom he saved from the flames became an orphan, and reduced to poverty after that terrible fire. She had no means of existence, and Frême knew it, and worked for her, never complaining of the burden, but labouring for her with an assiduity and a devotedness that merited the only recompense she could give, though he sought it not. Yes! Frême loved me, but his respect for me would not permit him to avow his affection, and ask for mine in return."

"And thou, Marie, wert generous too," said he, interrupting her in turn. "Thou wert above the vile and absurd prejudice which, in countries like these, degrades

the man who has a swarthy skin, and thrusts him out of the pale of society."

"I yielded to a sense of gratitude, Frême, and to the irresistible impulse of natural affection, which drew me towards one so noble, so pure-hearted, so good," resumed Marie. "I had known thee a child, like myself; had played with thee and grown up with thee. I had learnt to contrast thy disposition and thy numerous qualities with the degenerate and debased natures around me, who sought me honourably enough when fortune smiled, but who would have seen me sink to the lowest depth of infamy without holding out a hand to save me, when calamity overtook me, and made me a dependant. Thou know'st the wretched fate of the poor white girls in this unhappy colony, and but for thee and thy noble love, I had perhaps fallen. Bless thee, Frême, bless thee! and Heaven too be praised for raising me up so true a friend."

She wept with gratitude and joy, nor could the stranger resist the contagion of sympathy. They were all silent for a few minutes, when Frême, with eyes still glistening with tears, resumed:

"You see how it is. She will not forget any thing. A few years after, we were married at the *Bernica*, in the parish of St. Paul's, by an aged white priest who, had long withdrawn from the world, and who lived the solitary life of a hermit, in a rude grotto he had hewn in the side of the mountain. He saw no sin in uniting, in the name of the Holy Trinity, two hearts so devoted as our's. He felt that 'God has made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth,' and he made our union as holy in the eyes of the world, as it already was in those of our Almighty and common Father. Yes! He was a true Minister of the Gospel, who preached union, brotherhood, peace, and mercy, and who did not want courage to declare that God knows of no distinction of colour or of caste, but loves alike as his children all those who serve him.

"And so we were married."

#### MRS. H. B. STOWE ON THE BOSTON BAZAAR.

THE following interesting letter from Mrs. H. B. Stowe, on the Anti-Slavery Bazaar held annually at Boston, on behalf of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, was copied from the *New-York Independent*, into a recent number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, the official organ of the above-named Society.

"Among the attractions of Boston during Christmas week, none perhaps has excited more attention, or drawn more visitors, than the Anti-slavery Fair on Winter Street. The flag which it hung out announced it as the twenty-first of its name and object which has been held in Boston. It commenced its existence years back, under the

ban of all the fashion and so-called respectability of the city, and it has held on, from year to year increasing in its attractions and its popularity, till now it is decidedly the most fashionable shopping resort of the holidays. It is a singular feature of this fair, that the majority of its contributions are from Europe—free-will offerings from foreign nations to the great cause of human freedom in America. This year the foreign contributions have been so varied and brilliant as to make the fair a perfect museum of the most *recherché* articles of taste and fancy from the Old World.

"France was there, represented by two tables, filled with the choicest of those elegant trifles for which that country is so celebrated. One of these tables was furnished entirely by the efforts of the French Evangelical Christians; and there were dolls and playthings, contributed by children in different schools, and accompanied often by touching expressions of the interest which these little ones feel in the sufferings of the American slave. There was splendid embroidery, sent by different ladies, and multitudes of graceful works of taste, each of which had its own little story of the feelings of the donor. The letters that accompanied the collection on this table were so peculiar and interesting, that at some future time we may give some specimens of them to our friends—the readers of *The Independent*. The other French table, gathered in Paris under the superintendence of Mrs. Chapman, contained a rich assortment of articles of *vertu*. Among these were several genuine pieces of the China service of Louis Philippe, marked with the royal cypher, and a porcelain plate painted by the Queen of Wurtemberg, with her cypher enamelled by her own hand. The republican throng of visitors manifested great zeal to view these royal relics, and we understand that they met a ready sale at liberal prices, notwithstanding the hard times. This table contained also beautiful bronzes, specimens of Bohemian glass, and scores of Dresden china. There was a fine copy, life-size, in plaster, of the head of the Venus de Milon, and several smaller copies of different works of art in the Louvre. There were busts and medallions of all sorts of celebrities, as, for instance, from John Calvin to George Sand; and there was a most graceful collection of the hanging flower-baskets, which give such grace and lightness to the furnishing of French parlours.

"One table was collected entirely in Switzerland, by the efforts of one lady, and presented a very complete assortment of that peculiar species of carved wood-work for which that country has become famous. Here were dolls in the dresses of the different cantons; here were curiously-wrought paper-knives and salad forks and spoons; here were some exquisite specimens of the enamel-painting for which Geneva is famous, and there were models of cottages and chalets, and of shepherds and chamois; and in short all that would bring to a Swiss tourist's mind a remembrance of the invariable collections which meet him at every stopping-place and hotel in passing through Switzerland.

"One table was collected entirely in Germany, by the unintermitted exertions of an English lady residing in Stuttgart. This same lady made a collection last year for the then fair, but the ship

which brought the box unfortunately was wrecked. Undiscouraged by the failure, she however made a larger and more elaborate collection for this year, which came safely to hand. This lady, in her letters, speaks of the readiness with which people in all ranks of life have contributed, and states that a poor couple took down from their walls a print, which was their only earthly superfluity, and gave it to this object. On the first day of the fair, a gilt cup and saucer was sent in, with a note in broken English from a young German, who says that he gives for the cause of freedom the New-Year's present which his mother has just sent him.

"Time would fail me to speak of the English and Scotch boxes, rich in lace, embroidery, water-coloured paintings, choice engravings, shawls, scarfs, and a thousand other things too numerous to find a distinct mention. But one thought forces itself on an American mind. How differently does our American Slavery appear abroad from what it does here! How does the zeal of foreign lands for the cause of emancipation contrast with our lukewarmness! Why this feeling in other lands for us, when we have so little for ourselves?

"It has sometimes been erroneously supposed that the avails of this great Bazaar went for the support of the *Liberator*. This is not so. Whatever be the peculiar sentiments of the *Liberator*, that paper derives no support whatever from the funds thus accumulated. These are devoted to the supporting of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and the maintenance of Anti-slavery lectures and tracts. It is proposed this year to throw out a new series of tracts, which shall meet the peculiar pressure of our times. May they be successful in awakening in our own land something of that feeling towards Slavery which is felt in all other Christian nations! "H. B. S."

#### BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

##### EDINBURGH LADIES' EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

WE have received the Annual Report of the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*, for the year 1854. The Society appears to have been unusually active, and has rendered special service to the cause, in printing and extensively circulating a Letter on Turkish Missions, addressed to the Rev. C. G. Young, extracts from which we gave in the March Number of the *Reporter*. The Treasurer's Account shews a balance in hand of 26*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* on an income of 105*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* Amongst the items of disbursements are a donation of 15*l.* towards the Leeds Prize-Essay Fund; 10*l.* for Anti-slavery Lectures; 5*l.* to the *Manchester Anti-slavery Conference*; and 23*l.* to aid Fugitive Slaves in the United States and in Great Britain.

The Report of the Society's proceedings shews how much may be done with small means when earnest hearts set about a good work. From it we give the following extract, fully concurring in the sentiments expressed:



"We have, as in former years, had seriously under our notice the importance of withholding the sanction of British Christians from the pro-slavery religious bodies of the United States of America. The communication between the two nations is now so frequent, and the interchange of religious fellowship is so earnestly sought, that British churches are liable to be led into a virtual admission of the Christianity of those in America, whose members uphold the most impious iniquity on the face of the earth. We would afresh warn British Christians of the dishonour thus done to the religion they profess to serve, and in which, through unwatchfulness, they are in danger of implication, by uniting in the closest ties with the ministers and members of these churches.

"Of this nature has been the attempt to unite British friends of missions with the operations of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, without any protest against the pro-slavery character of the latter. We have used some efforts to expose this character, and have issued a little Tract on the subject, in the form of a Letter to the Secretary of the *Turkish Missions-Aid Society* in Edinburgh: as this Letter has been freely circulated, we shall not farther refer to it at present. A very important testimony, which we in this country can bear, is to give our sympathy only on the side of those who, impelled by anti-slavery principles, have separated themselves from the great religious organizations of the United States. We have on previous occasions enumerated the various noble minorities who have withdrawn from the pro-slavery churches, and we may again allude to the *American Missionary Society*, the *Free Baptist Missions Society*, the *Reform Tract and Book Societies*. It may not be generally recollected that the present Societies, from which these noble minorities have seceded, are, in common with the *American Bible Society*, and all the great organizations of the land, given up to the help of Slavery. The *Tract Society* expunges every anti-slavery sentiment from works reprinted under its auspices. The agent for the *Reform Tract Society* has been for several months in England, and has given (gave) much valuable information respecting the state of the religious bodies in America."

#### LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

The above-named Society held its Second Annual Meeting on Tuesday evening, the 7th ult., in the St. George's School-room, Leeds, under the presidency of the Mayor. The attendance was considerable, and the following gentlemen, amongst others, were on the platform: The Rev. Joshua Hart, vicar of Otley; Rev. N. S. Godfrey, incumbent of Wortley; Rev. T. Dixon, incumbent of Buslingthorpe; Rev. G. B. De Renzi, chaplain of the Borough Gaol; John Jowitt, jun., Esq., Joseph Lupton, Esq., Wilson Armistead, Esq., E. Irwin, Esq., John Wilson, Esq., J. H. Ridsdale, Esq., William Scholefield, Esq., John Maude, Esq., F. Wailes, Esq. (Easingwold), Mr. George Wailes, (Secretary), M. Stenson, Mr. Slade, &c.

Notes were read by the Secretary, Mr.

George Wailes, from Edward Baines, Esq., the Rev. Thomas Sturgeon, and the Rev. William Guest, expressing their regret at not being able to be present.

The business of the evening was introduced by the Mayor, in a brief but telling speech, and the Secretary then read the Report, detailing the operations of the Society during the past year. The Balance-sheet shewed a deficit of 197. 14s 5½d.

Mr. Alderman Wilson moved, and Mr. J. H. Ridsdale seconded, the adoption of the Report.

The Rev. N. S. Godfrey proposed, and Mr. Slade seconded, a resolution voting thanks to the Officers and Committee of the Association, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. Hart then moved, and Mr. J. Jowitt, jun., seconded, the following resolution, which also passed without dissent:

"That this meeting deeply laments the appearance of retrogression in the United States manifested in the tolerance of the Fugitive Slave Law, the passing of the infamous Nebraska Bill, and in the attempt now making, not only to add a still further extent of slave territory, but to re-open the African slave-trade."

The fourth resolution was moved by Mr. Joseph Lupton, and seconded by Mr. Stenson. It was as follows:

"That this meeting would earnestly impress upon the friends of the slave in this country the importance of their aiding to the utmost the abolitionists of America, and of encouraging them to persevere in their noble efforts, assured that, notwithstanding some present unfavourable appearances, the day of triumph of right over might must be ultimately attained."

Mr. Wm. Scholefield moved, and Mr. Wilson Armistead seconded, the fifth and last resolution, which, like the others, was carried unanimously:

"That this Association, whilst gratefully acknowledging its thankfulness in having been enabled to labour in behalf of the slave during the past year, would also sincerely thank those friends who have aided their efforts, earnestly soliciting a continuance of their support, as well as that of all the friends of humanity."

A vote of thanks to the Mayor terminated the proceedings.

We regret that our limited space precludes our giving a summary of the Society's operations during the past year. We may not, however, omit mentioning that it has issued a useful four-page Tract, entitled, *A Few Words to Emigrants*, which it has had translated into German, for especial distribution amongst German emigrants about to proceed to America.

#### ANTHONY BURNS A FREEMAN.

THE *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 10th March ult. contains the following interesting account, given by Anthony Burns himself, of his treatment after being taken



from Boston in May last, as a fugitive slave. An article on the subject appeared in the September Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"The person of the returned slave, Anthony Burns, having been purchased, through the instrumentality of his friend, the Rev. Mr. Grimes, of Boston, for the sum of 1300 dollars, some of the friends of Human Freedom assembled, on Friday night last, in the Rev. Dr. Pennington's Church, to give the man a welcome back to Freedom.

"Anthony is a man of medium height, with an honest and subdued expression on his face. His colour is a warm brown; his forehead is high, and but slightly retreating; eyes large and at times full of fun; but, on the whole, he is a serious-looking man. On his left cheek, a broad dark scar is visible. He is a man of powerful frame, and, had a fair opportunity offered, he would have stood up stoutly for his liberty. When he speaks, his voice is firm, deep, and sonorous, and pretty well modulated in its expression.

"The Rev. Dr. Pennington briefly stated the object of the meeting, after which prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Raymond. Dr. Pennington then introduced the returned Fugitive as '*the last Victim of the Fugitive-Slave law in Boston*,' and incidentally remarked that the next one would probably be his judge [Loring] (applause).

"Anthony Burns quietly divested himself of his overcoat, and then, bowing to the audience, said:

"Kind Friends: I am very glad to have it to say, I am very glad to have it to *feel*, that I am once more in the land of liberty; that I am with those who are friends indeed; those, too, who have daily, in the morning and at midnight, mourned for those who are now oppressed in far-off countries! Yes, I hope you have been making prayers, and shedding many tears, and offering up much supplication to God that he might cause me to be delivered from bondage. I am glad, I say, to be in the land of liberty, that I am now able to say *my soul is my own* (applause). I want to give you, this evening, a slight history of my journey to Virginia, after I was taken from Boston, and before that time. When I was about ten years old, being unacquainted with God and with Christ, truly I cared not much whither I went to, until it came so that God and Christ struck me with humble conviction, and created within me a new heart. Then I came to feel the necessity of both *soul and body being free* (applause). I had heard for many years of a North country, where no man dared to put his hand upon men of my colour and say 'you are my property.' As I grew, this feeling grew within me, till I came to a resolution, saying, 'I will, if God supports me, endeavour to reach that land' (applause). Well, meeting with a golden opportunity, as it were, last year, I took it upon myself that I would pay this visit (applause and laughter), and I came into the land of Boston, hearing that it was a benevolent city, where charity flowed. When I got there, truly I did not make myself known as I ought; but being, as many of us are, I didn't want to say

I was a fugitive slave. At least, you know that I might, thinking I was telling a friend who I was, be telling a foe, and he might lay violent hands upon me. I kept it to myself, and, after a little while, about a month or so, when I got into business, and thought I would try and strive for myself, as I never had an opportunity of doing before. Well then, as I was trying to do a little for my body and soul, behold, the thieves came and laid hands upon me. I was going up, one night, to the dwelling where I lived, and I heard some person running and shouting, but I didn't mind it, as I thought it might be some rowdy chaps, as they are in cities; when he cried out, 'Stop, old fellow,' and, laying his hand on my shoulder, he said, 'You are the fellow that broke into the silversmith's shop last night.' I said, 'Sir, you are mistaken.' He told me the name of the street. I said I had never been there. 'But you must come along; and if you are not the one we want,' he said, 'we will let you go.' Before I could make a movement, I found that there were, not one, but some six or seven of them, and I was almost carried off my feet. The next place I found myself was in a room, up stairs, in the Court-House, where they set me down in a chair, waiting for the 'silversmith' to come in. I waited for about, as I suppose, the space of an hour, when, as I hadn't had any supper, and felt kind of hungry, I asked them if they wouldn't let me go home. And they said no. I began to consider what was the difficulty. About half an hour afterwards, I heard some one walking along the passage, and then somebody opened the door. He didn't open it like an honest man, but seemed to be afraid some one would see him. He opened the door, and walked in, and said, 'How do you do, Mr. Burns?' And then I saw that the hunters had caught their game. I used no resistance, and, if I had, it would have availed nought against all of them. It came into my mind to disown him, but then something about the conduct of Christ came to my mind too, and so I determined, rather than falsify myself, to submit, like a sheep under the shearer, or a lamb under the slaughter, depending upon God to arrange the matter. So I called him, as we do down in Virginia, 'master.' He asked me if I thought he would have any difficulty in taking me back to Virginia. I was brought to kind of a stand, dumb like, but I said, 'I don't know.' He then said how much money he had given me, and asked if I did not remember how kind he had been. 'Oh, yes,' I said, 'I recollect you used to give 12 half cents at the end of every year that I worked for you.' I thought it would be a poor business at the North that wouldn't turn me in more than that. He went out, and I saw him no more that night, and you may imagine I didn't eat nor sleep that night, and what my feelings were I can't tell.

"Well, next morning they told me my master had said I was his, and he had got all the papers to prove it. They put on bracelets, and took me down to the Court-room; not such bracelets as you wear, ladies, of silver and gold, but iron, yes, steel, that cut into the wrists, and [exhibiting his wrists] here are the scars they have left. Well, the lawyers insisted upon me that I should have counsel, though, as I had called the man

'master,' I told them that I could see no good in it. I considered that the words which I first spoke had ruined me; therefore I said unto my friends, 'There is no use—I don't see whereby any good can be done, except through Almighty God'—for I couldn't tell a falsehood even to save my liberty. Well, they insisted upon me, and at last I consented to it, although it profited me nothing. And they tried me, and what a brave sight! I, a poor fugitive, was surrounded by a body-guard of 200 men, all armed with their big horse-pistols and cutlasses (groans), some of 'em lying upon the table and some of 'em in their hands, to the number of full 200, I should think. Some of 'em says to me, Burns, don't you have any thing to do with them

Abolitionists—meaning thereby lawyers Dana, Ellis, Phillips, and the others—'they don't care anything for you, and won't do you any good.' I said that 'they were the only men who worked for my freedom, and if they failed, it was not to their blame.' Well, next morning, a paper came up, and I read in it that they said I had expressed a wish to go back to Virginia; that I wanted to go back very much. Now, Satan himself, if he had come up out of the pit upon the earth, could not have told a bigger lie. Now, I want to ask you, white or black, who of you wants to go into a den of roaring lions? who wants to go into slavery? Do any of you? (No! no!) Who that has had, as I have, the blood trickling down my back, from my neck to my heels, from the deep gashes of the cow-skin, would want to go back there, and beg to be taken back? They give a man 500 lashes for insulting them; how many would they give if a man made them mad? Who wants to be in that position? Is there any man here who holds with that? (No! no!) This is the position to which we are fettered in the South. Well, I was carried down to the revenue cutter from the Court-House in a delightful manner. I was quite the lion, the wonderful Burns: I saw they had got the military from all parts of the State, as a guard of honour. There were soldiers before, and soldiers behind, and one at each side of me, with pistols and drawn swords. Some said, 'Burns, we have overcome your friends, the Abolitionists, but we will buy you, and bring you back; we have got the money, and your master said he would let us have you.' I said, 'Gentlemen, if so be as you think you're a-fooling me, you won't do it, for I don't believe you will ever bring me back.' And I was not mistaken. I wasn't a-going to believe them. On my way to Norfolk, they still fed me with fine fancies, and said they wan't a-going to put me in prison, and all that; but as soon as I touched the wharf at Norfolk, I was braceleted and put in jail. Some of them said, 'We have got Burns, the lion, now.' And as I walked a little stiff, from having had no exercise on the ship, one of them said to me, 'Come, now, walk up, walk up, step up, ———, you ain't in Boston now!' Of course, I knew that; and as it would have been no use to say any thing there, I mended my steps. I was put into the City Prison, with my bracelets on. I asked for food, and they told me no preparation had been made for my reception. I had no seat, so I had to sit down on the dirty floor, which did not look as if it had

been swept once in nine months. For two days and nights, I did not eat above six mouthfuls; and then, about three o'clock in the morning, they came and took me, in a cab, to the wharf, and put me on board the steamer Jamestown for Richmond. When they got me to Richmond, I was put, handcuffs and all, into an omnibus—a great honour, you see, for 'niggers' are not permitted to ride in omnibuses there. I was conveyed to the City Prison, where I was kept for a week. Here I was not only handcuffed, but irons were put upon my ankles, so close together that I could scarcely move my feet, and so tight that the flesh grew over them. At the end of that time, they transferred me to the Traders' Jail, on the other side of the street, where they put me into a pen, about big enough for a little dog. Here they kept me four long months, without once allowing me to leave it. The irons were so tight that I thought they would wear through my bones. When I would lie down, I had to fall on to the floor, for I had no other means of lying down, on account of the tightness of my bonds; and when I got up, it was only by the aid of a broken chair, which I dragged along to me, and upon which I would rest my elbows and raise myself up. I did not have enough to eat; and as for water, why, that was given me, a half a bucketful at a time, once in every other two days, and that in August; and when I went to drink it, 'twas so hot I thought 'twould scald my eyes out. How many times I strained my eyes towards the North! Many a time did I lift up my voice to God, that he would deliver me—as he did Daniel and the old Prophets—from this den of lions. At the end of these four months, they took me down into the sales-room, and, after some two or three hundred persons had looked at me, they put me up on the block to sell me; and, as I stood on the block, one man said [imitating voice and gestures]—'Darn me, he's a good-looking "nigger." If I had him, he would be worth 1400 or 1500 dollars.' 'Yes,' says another, 'if he had never been to Bosting and got tainted. Why, he'd make 75 barrels of corn for himself.' Another old loafer, who looked as though he'd only got a ninepence in his pocket to buy him a glass of bad rum, said, 'Look-a-here, nigger, if I had yer on my place, I put you whar yer couldn't get to Boston again in a hurry.' And I thought, if I had a-been on his place, I'd a-ground him to powder; I'd mashed him to a mummy first (applause). Still another would say, 'This is the great lion, Burns. Eh, Burns, are you the lion?' One would ask me about the North, and I told him it was a place where men of my colour could walk the streets without being afraid of insult, or getting knocked down. That was saucy, and he said, 'What! not knock a "nigger" down? Here, take this fellow down, and give him 500.' And they got mad to such a pitch, that I believe they would have flogged me, only the auctioneer was interested in keeping my skin as free from bruises as he could, because, if I didn't look well, I would not fetch him so much by a good many dollars. At length they got a bid of 25 dollars, at which they kept for full three-quarters of an hour, plenty saying they'd like to have me, only I

would be telling their 'niggers' about the North, and get 'em all to run away. At last I was knocked down for 905 dollars.

"The man who bought me wanted me to swear, before God and man, that I would serve him as a slave, and be very submissive. I said, 'Sir, I belong to you: truly, you can whip me to death if you please; but I cannot make any pledges before God. If you take me home and treat me as a man ought to be treated, I will try to do all I can,' and my meaning was while I stayed with him, for I was bent on once more seeing Boston or Canada (laughter and applause). He put me in prison again, and I was one day let down to walk in the yard, but I was quickly put back again, because, as I had been at the North, I would be talking with the other 'niggers' and tainting them with Abolitionism, and set them into the notion of running away too. David McDonald, of North Carolina, was the man to whom I was sold. He took me from the jail in a hack—a great thing, you know, sitting back in a carriage (laughter). A 'nigger' don't often ride in a carriage, you know—that was in style! When I left Richmond, one man says, 'Tell 'em in North Carolina that the people at the North are starving, and that's a fact, you know, Burns.' When I got to North Carolina, I found another hack waiting for me—very fine indeed—something big. My master began to talk to me and tell me that he looked at the heart of a man, not at his skin: I had got a white heart, and so he didn't look on me as a 'nigger,' by no manner of means. He just wanted me to drive him and his wife out, and I was to sleep in a little office among the inferior white folks, who worked on his place, and he would give me money whenever I wanted it. He wanted me to come and tell him whenever I saw anything wrong in the other 'niggers;' but I was not to mix in with them, nor make free with them. I went into the little office, and there was no bed, so I went to my master, and asked for one. He sent me to the cook for a blanket, and that was all I got to sleep on. When I had been with this man about a month, I went and told him he had promised to give me whatever money I wanted, and I should, if he pleased, like a little change. And what do you think he gave me? Six cents (great laughter). I touched my beaver respectfully, and went off. I was determined to pay one more visit North, and so I wrote to my friends, and I *would have come* if I had to wade through blood to my neck. I wrote this to Boston, but I don't know if any answer was ever sent to that. I wrote that the only way to escape from bondage was by a general uprising of the slaves, and I would have been willing to lead them, as their captain, to death or freedom (great applause).

"[Being admonished of the lapse of time, by his friend Grimes,] he said, in conclusion—Kind friends, I thank you for your kind attention, and if you will remember me, and consider how I came up, and I hope you will pray to God to endow me with wisdom, that I may, as a free man, come to something profitable (much applause).

"The Rev. Mr. GRIMES was then introduced. He said that he had endeavoured to obtain the

liberty of Anthony, while in Boston, and had got the money, and the man was promised to him, when his owner demanded 300 dollars more, and finally said he would not sell him in Boston at any price. He attributed this failure altogether to Loring. A lady friend hearing of Burns's whereabouts lately, a letter was sent to McDonald, who replied that he would sell Anthony for 1300 dollars, although he could get 1500 or 1600 dollars in the neighbourhood for him, but that Anthony was a good honest fellow, who earnestly desired his freedom, and, if we would pay him that sum, we should have him. We wrote on a letter of acceptance, and Barnum's Hotel, Baltimore, was settled upon as the place for our meeting. I then went around among the 'law and order' men who had promised to aid in purchasing Burns, and from them and others I raised 700 dollars; I then got the other 600 dollars upon my note, and that is the way the sum was made up. Among the contributors were the United States Marshal; Curtis gave 100 dollars, a pledge for which I held in my possession, so that he could not back out. Hallett also contributed, and I heard that Loring said he wanted to, but not a penny of his money would I touch. Well, I went on to Baltimore, and met Mr. McDonald, who frankly owned up his business to be that of a regular slave-trader. He executed a deed of sale, and gave me a bond, and I handed him the 1300 dollars, together with 25 dollars, the cost of bringing him to Baltimore. He told me that it was with much difficulty that he got Anthony out of the State; and while on the boat, so much were some Southerners opposed to his return to the North, that they wanted to force him (Mr. McDonald) into selling Burns to them; but he 'refused, and stood for two hours on the deck of the boat, expecting to have to shoot one or other of them.' Mr. Barnum, of Barnum's Hotel, became security for my safe transit through the State, and here we are, on our way to Boston (applause).

"After taking up a collection, the meeting dispersed."

#### AMERICAN SYMPATHY WITH BRITISH ABOLITIONISTS.

WE are continually told that Americans very properly resent, as unjustifiable interference, any remonstrance on the part of Englishmen, in reference to their "peculiar institution." In *The North-American Quarterly Review* for October 1854, (vol. lxxix. pp. 423—441,) is a candid review of Mrs. Stowe's *Sunny Memories*: and we are glad to see, in a Conservative publication of such high standing, admissions like those contained in the following extract:

"We Americans are least of all authorized to denounce the free discussion of our domestic affairs in other countries as unjustifiable interference. Our habit is to take cognizance of all grievances, by whomsoever inflicted or endured. From the first French Revolution to the latest assault of Romanism upon the rights of conscience, we have held in perpetual *term-time* a court



of review on the doings of sovereigns, pontiffs, legislatures, and political parties. The Porte and the Czar are arraigned at our indignation-meetings; Magyar republicans and Austrian state-prisoners enlist our sympathies, as if they had been born under the stripes and stars; and the factories and collieries of Great Britain are among the common-places of our invective. Nor do we confine ourselves to wordy warfare against social and political wrongs beyond the ocean. Men and money, arms and ammunition, can be levied among us at will, whether it be for a crusade in behalf of the rights of man, or for a Quixotic tilt against titles and abstractions. Nor is this unnatural for a self-emancipated, or unseemly for a Christian people. But by this altitude we court foreign criticism, and invite attack at every vulnerable point. The censors of all mankind, how can we hope to elude censure, or to have it sparingly dealt to us, for glaring defects, or unsightly excrescences, in our political constitution, our fundamental laws, or our social organization?

"We are wont to hurl back against British Abolitionism the old proverb, 'Physician, heal thyself'; and we need books like the one before us to shew us how earnestly, laboriously, and successfully our advice has been taken. Great Britain presents two opposite aspects; the one bristling with hoary wrongs and inveterate iniquities, the other that of a reform-spirit, radical in the noblest sense of the word, resolute, aggressive, and irresistibly potent."

The Reviewer then refers to the benevolent enterprises in Great Britain of which Mrs. Stowe gives some account. He remarks that, whilst the *Song of the Shirt* has been very popular in America, as depicting the slavery of the poor seamstresses in England, it has not awakened any reformatory movement there, to alleviate the condition of no small class of imperilled workwomen: whilst in London an Association for the purpose has been in successful operation more than ten years. He then adverts to Mrs. Stowe's exposure of the calumnies heaped on the Duchess of Sutherland, and continues:

"From Mrs. Stowe's narrative, it would appear that the Anti-slavery leaders in Great Britain are the very persons who have laboured, and are labouring, to the utmost of their ability, for the correction of evils and abuses nearer home. They have acquired the right to pity the victims of foreign oppression by the noble stand they have taken in behalf of the wronged, depressed, and down-trodden on their own soil. We can bear to have our wounds probed by such hands. We cannot doubt the sincerity and faithfulness of rebuke and expostulation from such sources. It need not be a matter of surprise that the African comes up in tender remembrance with those who thus 'draw out their bread to the hungry, and hide not themselves from their own flesh.' Their voice is not that of international hatred, but of unfeigned philanthropy."

#### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

THE *Detroit Tribune* of the 15th says, a Miss Gibson, from Maysville, Kentucky, passed over the river on that day, having arrived in safety by the underground railroad from Toledo; and adds, that "what makes this case one of unusual interest, is the fact, that Miss Gibson is as white as any of our lady readers who will con this paragraph. Unless informed of the fact, no one would have the remotest suspicion that she had a drop of Negro blood running in her veins. Her eyes are blue, her hair brown, her complexion fair and clear. She is very intelligent, and her appearance really prepossessing."

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.—"The Session of Congress which has just closed was a dull one, if we except the last two weeks, during which its most important proceedings and debates took place. In the Senate, the week before last, a large number of petitions, on questions of Slavery, was presented by Mr. Chase, and, as indicating the progress of opinion, instead of having them simply received and laid upon the table, he moved, for the first time, that they be referred to a Select Committee. The fact that such a motion commanded thirteen votes in that pro-Slavery body is an indication not to be overlooked. An exciting debate took place in the Senate on the Bill introduced by Mr. Toucey, depriving State Courts of the power to punish violent acts committed by elevated State officers. The speeches delivered presented not only a clear view of the nature and intent of the Bill, exposing its violation of State rights, but also a comprehensive and startling view of the general usurpation and never-ending exactions of Slavery. The opinion here is, that the pro-Slavery party, although it carried its measure, won no laurels in the struggle. It betrayed signs of weakness and desperation, while the friends of freedom held a bolder and more confident tone. Mr. Chase shewed, says a correspondent of the *Boston Telegraph*, who was present during the debate, the monstrous nature of this attack upon state rights, and compelled the majority to amend the Bill by limiting it to civil suits, and to officers of the United States and persons acting in aid of such offices."

"In the House, the slaveholders, during the session, carefully abstained from any movement that could lead to the discussion of Slavery. The impression among them seemed to be, that they had taxed Northern patience for the present quite as far as was prudent. Even Mr. Mace's Bill to restore the Missouri Compromise line failed to arouse them, and it soon drifted out of sight. Their policy now is, to remain quiet and watchful: they fear the next Congress, but have hopes that through the power of Know Nothingism they may divide and neutralize the Anti-slavery members from the North. Mean time, they will do nothing to irritate the public mind, but content themselves with what they have gained, and bide their time. They remember, too, that speculation is as far as to the next Presidency, and that it is now necessary to shape events so as to determine that question. Let us quiet the Northern mind on the subject of Slavery, is their language. Let us make no new, irritating issues. We who are Democrats will help the Northern Democracy to reorganize, and

avoid throwing any obstacles in their path; and we who are Whigs or Know Nothings will favour the great American Party, so-called. In this way, by discreet management, we shall have the voters of the country, in 1856, divided between the Old Line Democracy and the Know-Nothing Party, both of which will be pledged to the non-agitation of the Slavery Question; so that what fanatics call the Slave Power will have no reason to fear from the success of either! This is evidently the policy of the slaveholders, and this policy they have carried out during the present Congress, with the single exception of the introduction of that odious Bill by Mr. Toucey."—*Nat. Era, March 8th.*

#### EXTENSION OF ANTI-SLAVERY INFLUENCE.—

"The Anti-slavery movement is no longer at the mercy of spasmodic and irregular forces. It has got a prodigious momentum from its own action that secures it against obstruction from opposing influences for ever hereafter. It cannot be arrested or again subordinated to other political issues. This is the great fact evolved from the elections of 1854. We especially commend it to the Know-Nothing managers. The leaders of public affairs for the last quarter of a century have made other questions dominant, and centred upon them the chief interest of the public mind. Slavery, just so far as possible, has been kept out of the ring of general party disputation, and every attempt to introduce it has been systematically frowned down by the engineers of both the great political parties. But time has gradually disposed of many of the great questions in issue, and Slavery has as gradually forced its way in to take their place, till now it is the absorbing and overshadowing question in our politics. This position it will continue to occupy till either the National Government is divorced from the support of the institution, or the free and slave States of the Union cease to live together under one Government.

"The signs of the times pre-eminently admonish the friends of freedom that they should be girding up their loins for future contests. They have every cause for encouragement, and none for fear. The only substantial and wide-spread basis for an enduring and successful party in the free States is that upon which they repose. They have the heart, the conscience, and the understanding of the people with them. Every motive that can sway the action of independent, liberty-loving, moral, or religious men, constrains the voter to their ranks. All that is noble, all that is true, all that is pure, all that is manly and estimable in human character, goes to swell the power of the Anti-slavery party of the North. That party is no longer the fraction, the handful of men it once was, with designs misconceived, motives aspersed, and conduct decried. It now embraces every Northern man who does not want to see this Government converted into a huge engine for the spread of Slavery over the whole continent, every man who is and was opposed to the scandalous attempt to abridge the territory of freedom and enlarge that of servitude, by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

"At this juncture we wish to call attention to the inevitable fact, that the Anti-Nebraska or Anti-slavery party in the North hold a position which they cannot and will not abandon, and cannot and will not defer to any other question or platform whatever. They stand immovably upon the ground of resistance to the encroachments of Slavery; they aim at the disconnection of the Government from its support; they are, and will be, until the work is accomplished, for the restoration of the prohibitory clause of the Missouri Compromise. The Northern Anti-Nebraska men will insist upon this as the first condition of co-operative action in all coming elections, as they have in the last. They have won everywhere on this ground, and they are not now going to abandon it. Any battles to be fought, or any victories to be won, by their aid, must be fought and won on this platform. \* \* \* Upon this point all must be plain, open, and above-board. Our motto is, and is to be in the Presidential contest, as in all that precede it, REPEAL of the law which broke down the barriers to the spread of Slavery, and on that position we stand or fall. The Anti-Nebraska men will not be cajoled into the support of any Presidential or other candidate who hesitates on this question. Their candidate for the Presidency must stand squarely on it. Let all, whether they know nothing or know something, know so much as this, and govern themselves accordingly. (*New-York Tribune, March 2d.*)

**NEGRO DOGS.**—I would inform the citizens of Holmes County that I still have my Negro Dogs, and that they are in good training, and ready to attend to all calls of hunting and catching runaway Negroes, at the following rates: For hunting per day, five dollars, or if I have to travel any distance, every day will be charged for, in going and returning, as for hunting, and at the same rates. Not less than five dollars will be charged in any case, where the Negroes come in before I reach the place. From fifteen to twenty-five dollars will be charged for catching, according to the trouble: if the Negro has weapons, the charge will be made according to the difficulty had in taking him, or in case he kills some of the dogs, the charge will not be governed by the above rates. I am explicit, to prevent any misunderstanding. The owner of the slave to pay all expenses in all cases. I venture to suggest to any person having a slave runaway, that the better plan is to send for the dogs forthwith when the Negro goes off, if they intend sending at all, and let no other person go in the direction, if they know which way the runaway went; as many persons having other Negroes to hunt over the track, and failing of success, send for the dogs, and then perhaps fail in consequence to catch their Negro, and thus causelessly fault the dogs. Terms, cash. If the money is not paid at the time the Negro hunted for is caught, he will be held bound for the money. I can be found at home at all times, five and a half miles east of Lexington, except when hunting with the dogs. JOHN LONG.

Feb. 14, 1855.

[*Lexington Democratic Advocate.*

The people of the free States will be horror-stricken at such an advertisement; but do they



really think the two-legged hounds among them, employed to run down fugitives, are as respectable as the four-legged ones of John Long?—*Tribune*.

**A NEW-YORK SCENE.**—A little before nine o'clock on Saturday evening, a decent-looking coloured woman entered one of the Eighth-av. cars in Canal Street, and had reached the middle of it, when the conductor observed her and ordered her to go out, which she refused to do, telling him that she wished to ride and had a right to do so, as had recently been established by a judicial decision in Brooklyn. The conductor replied that his orders were imperative, and again ordered her out. She still refused to go, when he clinched her, and, with the aid of the driver, after a desperate struggle of some minutes, forced her into the middle of the street, where she was left in the bitter cold, her clothes badly torn and herself somewhat injured. The passengers throughout the fray manifested disgust at the outrage and sympathy with its victim. None of them had indicated a wish that she should be expelled. Of course, the conductor was but obeying orders; but where does this place those who gave these orders?

We doubt whether there is a city in the South where such a wrong could have been committed. The pretext on which it is based—that of a natural repugnance on the part of the Whites toward being brought into proximity to Blacks—is a most transparent lie. In several of our best hotels, and in many of our most sumptuous dwellings, the only servants are Blacks. Black and White boys are seen playing together in our streets—not to speak of those whose colour proves the existence of closer intimacies—and there is not a Negro-hater among us who will object to the company of Negroes at his dinner, provided they stand behind his chair. Black and White women are mixed in all Southern cars, only the former are servants to the latter. It is not, then, the fact that Negroes ride in the same cars that gives offence; it is their riding there on terms of equality with Whites. We trust the sufferer in this instance will appeal to the laws for the vindication of her rights.—*New York-Tribune*.

**STRIKING PROOF OF THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.**—Mrs. Swisshelm is a very plain spoken woman—uncommonly so. But at the same time she is, in our opinion, entirely truthful, and altogether the ablest lady connected with the American Press. In an article in the *Pittsburg Visitor*, written to shew that women are, after all, no better than men, and there is a mistake in our deifying them beyond the degree of our self-idolatry, she says:

"Experience has taught us that Southern women are more intensely attached to Slavery than men are; that they will more bitterly resent any attack upon it, and are rather more likely to be cruel than the other sex. Find a Southern lady whose husband has a dozen black mistresses and any number of slave-children, and you will find one with a most insane hatred of Abolition. A clergyman of high standing in the Reform Presbyterian Church told us he had heard young ladies talk, in one of the Southern States. The conversation was upon beaux, when

one, an heiress, belle, and beauty, expressed her disapprobation of a young gentleman because he had no slave-children. She did it openly, and without a blush. He questioned her, to be certain that he understood her aright, and she assured him that it was customary for young men, when quite young, to select some one or more of his father's slave girls as mistresses—that their children were considered as belonging to him, and so when he married he would have some one to wait on his wife; and in fact, that the young man in question had not made such provision she held to be a sign that he would not make a good husband.

"It is certain that Southern women do not all feel thus, and that many who do would not express the feeling to a stranger; but the publicity which is universal about these illicit connections proves that the women of the South cannot be heartily opposed to them, for women do create or at least sanction, the public sentiment of the society in which they move."—*F. Douglass's Paper*.

**TRANSIT OF SLAVES THROUGH THE FREE STATES.**—The *Cincinnati Commercial* gives a report of the arguments in a slave case which occupied the attention of the Court for several days. There was no controversy about the facts. The questions of law discussed were:

"Whether, and how far, the obligations of comity would require a free State to permit the transit of a slave through the State, or any part of it, on his way from one slaveholding State to another? And whether, and how far, leaving comity out of the question, the public right of navigation of the Ohio river would authorize the use of the Ohio shore for transferring a slave from one boat to another, by passing along said shore.

"Incidentally, also, the question was discussed, whether, if the slave had not come ashore, but remained on the steamer, moored to the shore, he was to be regarded as within the State of Ohio.

"It was conceded that the slaves were, in no sense, fugitives, but were brought by their owner voluntarily to the shore; and the main position taken for the slaves was, that they become free the moment they were brought, voluntarily, into the State."

**MULATTO BOY TURNED OUT OF SCHOOL.**—A few days since, Miss Isabella Newhall, a teacher in one of the public schools in Cincinnati, applied to the Board of Education of that city, soliciting the dismissal of one of her pupils, not for improper conduct, nor on account of his inability or unwillingness to receive instruction, but because his skin was darker than that of some of the other scholars. The matter was brought before the Board, and appears to have received considerable discussion in that body; but it was finally decided he must take his walking papers. The vote stood 15 to 10. Upon the announcement of the result, two of the Board resigned, both members from the district in which the sensitive Isabella teaches. The young Miss is said to be a native of the South, which may account for her repugnance to "niggers"—especially educated ones.—*Tribune*.

**THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.**—The Hon. C. F. Mercer, in a letter to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, dated London, Dec. 15, says: "Perhaps you do not know, as I am only recently informed, of the



vast extent of the Northern African slave-trade. My friends, Mr. and Mrs. Abbot S. Lawrence, met at the upper cataract of the Nile three hundred African girls, of great beauty, in one coffin, brought sixty days' journey over the burning sands of Zahara, for the Egyptian market. Their feet were raw, their bodies nearly naked, their countenances haggard. Such is the fruit of the traffic.—*Am. Baptist.*

**THE SLAVE TRADE.**—"The slave-trade at the South continues healthy and brisk. Superior mechanics fetch swinging prices, the bidding among the pure Democracy being sharp. Labourers, too, are in great demand; and likewise all feminine chattels, whether to work or breed.

"We have before us the various handbills of Messrs. J. A. Beard and May, Auctioneers, New Orleans, which particularly indicate the lively condition of the human-flesh market during the past and present months. Their titles are as follows:

"Two hundred and sixty-one acclimated slaves to be sold at Bank's Arcade, New Orleans, Jan. 16. Names in due order follow.

"Sixty very choice plantation slaves, mechanics, seamstresses, and cooks, &c. The hand-indices to the word 'mechanics' are given in the original. Mechanics here who vote the nigger democratic ticket—all the Irish included—may know how mechanics are honoured in slave advertisements.

"Forty-four cotton-field hands, to be sold Jan. 20.

"Forty-three valuable brickyard and plantation slaves to be sold Jan. 24.

"One hundred and twelve likely creole sugar and cotton and field negroes, from the plantation of Gen. J. Barrow, of East Feliciana, La."

The market is equally healthy in South Carolina, as appears from the following in *The Columbia Times*:

"*Sales of Property.*—There was a large amount of property sold yesterday, which we cannot enumerate in full. Mr. A. R. Phillips sold a number of negroes. We subjoin some of the prices: One boy, 22 years of age, 785 dol.; 1 girl, 21 years, 770 dol.; 1 boy, 15 years, 780 dol.; 1 woman, 36 years, and son, 4 years, 750 dol.; 1 woman, 36 years, and 3 children, at 375 dol., 1500 dol.; 1 woman and 5 children, at 200 dol., 1200 dol.; 1 woman, 32 years of age, and 2 children, at 285 dol., 855 dol.; 1 girl, 580 dol. For Commissioner in Equity: 1 woman and 3 children at 356 dol., 1424 dol.; 1 woman and 1 child, at 480 dol., 960 dol.

"Mr. L. T. Levin sold the following property: Likely boy, 14 years old, 780 dol.; half-acre lot, with a small house thereon, corner of Taylor and Barnwell Streets, 2800 dol.; half-acre lot belonging to the estate of John Waddell, corner of Taylor and Winn Streets, 400 dol.

"Messrs. March and Sharp sold the following property: 1100 acres bluff land at 950 dol.; 960 acres swamp land at 737 dol. 50 cents; 200 acres pine land at 450 dol.; 114 acres sand-hill at 412 dol.; 1 negro girl at 710 dol.; 1 negro boy at 450 dol.; and several others ranging from 500 to 800 dol.

"The mechanics sold above are praised as first-rate articles. Jack, for instance, is 'a cartman and brickmoulder, and chopper, and good at

any thing on the plantation. Bob, a chattel, is 'a first-rate blacksmith.' Henry, 'a superior cooper.' Dick Hardman, 'engineer and mill-sawyer.' Mischo, 'a broom-maker.' Invaluable seamstresses and cooks bristle along the lines. One thing is remarkable in these handbills: No superior lawyer, clergyman, militia-general, merchant, office-hunter, or humbug, is ever sold: always mechanics, labourers, and women, old and young, and these generally invaluable. That such preference should be invariably given to the men who cultivate the earth, and build and stock houses, make clothes, boots and shoes, fashion iron, and determine civilization, should be very gratifying to the mechanics and labourers of the North. But we fear it cannot last. The professions will soon be put into the market: editors and Congressmen are already bought, though not at public sale.

"Hail Columbia, happy land!"—*New-York Tribune.*

**THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE.**—The ratio of increase of the whole slave population from 1840 to 1850 is stated at 28·87. But this, be it recollected, is the average ratio. Of course the ratio is far greater in Virginia, where the climate is mild, the labour light, and the treatment comparatively kind, than on the cotton, rice, and sugar plantations of the South. It is a well-ascertained fact, that slaves employed in the sugar cultivation do not increase. On the contrary, after the abolition of the African slave-trade, there was a constant decrease in the number of slaves in the British sugar islands; and now, in the State of Louisiana, there is no increase of slaves except by importation. Hence the average ratio is 22·87: it is a very moderate estimate that the natural ratio in North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, must be at least 30 per cent. Now, what are the facts?

In the last ten years the ratio of increase in	
Virginia is . . . . .	5·21 per cent.
Maryland . . . . .	0·07 "
Delaware—decrease . . . . .	12·09 "
North Carolina—increase . . . . .	17·38 "

Do we ask what has become of the slaves thus disappearing from these States? The answer is found in the ratio of increase in the importing States. Thus, in the last ten years, slaves have increased in

Georgia . . . . .	35·85 per cent.
Missouri . . . . .	50·10 "
Florida . . . . .	52·85 "
Mississippi . . . . .	58·74 "
Arkansas . . . . .	136·26 "

In various other States the increase is far above the average ratio. Hence we see that there is a prodigious transfer of slaves; or, in other words, a vast internal slave-trade. The slaves of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, supposing them to increase in the ratio of 30 per cent. since 1849, would,

In 1850, have amounted to . . . . .	1,020,033
Whereas they number only . . . . .	851,444

Exported . . . . .	168,589
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Should these slaves average 500 dol. a head, we have a receipt by these three States of 84,294,500 dol. or 8,429,450 yearly for their staple article of export.—*Tribune.*

### Miscellanea.

**A REMARKABLE MAN.**—Died at Mechanicsville, Montgomery county, Md., on the 27th ult., WASHINGTON HODGE, a respectable and well-known coloured man, in the 48th year of his age. His disease was the typhoid fever, which has been particularly fatal, during the present season, among people of colour in this healthy region, and under which his powerful frame sank, after a week's sickness.

The deceased was a remarkable man. He had worked in the village, at the trade of a blacksmith, for thirty years; and, though as dark in color as the iron he knew so well how to handle and temper, was much respected by his employers, and by all who knew him. He was faithful, industrious, and temperate; and acquired by his exertions a fair amount of property.

But, beyond these not uncommon traits, he possessed certain qualities that awakened an unusual degree of interest in his character among persons of high intelligence and discrimination. From several individuals of that description, the writer of this article has heard such expressions as the following: "Washington Hodge is certainly a natural genius—a man of clear, strong mind, and withal, a *native gentleman*." He possessed a just self-respect, amounting to true dignity, and his deportment was alike free from every trace of insolence and of servility. He frequently counselled his coloured friends to be strictly obedient to the laws, and always set them a good example in his own person.

There was something of the *heroic* about him, as is shewn in the following incident. It must be mentioned, that he was a large man, tall, and well-proportioned, and possessed of extraordinary physical power. One day, while busily engaged at his labours in the smith-shop, a man rode up to the door, and ordered him, in an imperious manner, to fasten up to the shop door a printed advertisement. Hodge, with his usual respectful politeness, was going to comply, when he discovered that it was an advertisement offering a reward for a fugitive slave. He refused then to touch the paper. The man, giving Hodge the benefit of some rough maledictions, stuck up the advertisement himself. Hodge tore it down, saying firmly, but quietly, that he would not work in a shop with such a sign at the door. Then the impatient gentleman, irritated by such unaccustomed obstinacy, drew a pistol, and declared he would shoot him. "T-t-take sure aim, then," said Hodge, who was a little given to stammering, "or, by God," (and, as he spoke, he swung up, with his Herculean arm, a ponderous smith's hammer,) "if you miss me, you're a *dead man*!" The man didn't shoot, and the blacksmith went on quietly with his work.

Other incidents of a similar character could be related, all going to prove that this departed black was, every inch of him, a *man*.

He is gone; and if, as I have heard it intimated, Nature made a *mistake* in giving him a *black skin*, he has gone where that and all other mistakes will be fully rectified. (*National Era*.)

### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, APRIL 30th, 1855.

#### OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, beg to announce that the Annual Meeting of the Society's Subscribers and Friends will be held on Friday evening, the 18th of May inst., at Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate Street.

The Chair will be taken at half-past six.

The Rev. James Bowery, from Berbice; Francis Burke, Esq., from Montserrat; R. Russell, Esq., from Jamaica; George Thompson, Esq., Captain Poitiers, from the West Coast of Africa, and William Craft, (lately a slave in Georgia,) with other gentlemen, will, it is expected, take part in the proceedings.

#### EGYPTIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

A FRENCH periodical, entitled *Annales d'Afrique*, published under the auspices of an extremely useful Society established in Paris, and called *L'Institut d'Afrique*, contains the subjoined interesting item of intelligence, in relation to the slave-trade in Egypt, dated from Cairo, the 10th of January last:

"The Viceroy, though much occupied with the re-organization of his army, perseveringly pursues his projects of reform. Several of his more recent enactments may be quoted in support of this fact, amongst which is the following: 'His Highness has just prohibited the introduction of slaves throughout the provinces placed under his government. The strictest orders on this subject have been sent to the ports in the Red Sea, and to all those points on the southern frontier, where the traffic in Negroes or in Abyssinians used to be carried on. With regard to the slaves actually in Egypt, they will remain, for a time, in their present condition, as any sudden change on this point would overthrow the whole domestic economy of Mussulman society. But the principle of Emancipation is established, and before very long, Slavery will wholly disappear from Egypt.'

The United States, boasting of a superior civilization and refinement, are evidently far behind Mahomedan Egypt. Whilst the Government of the latter country is adopting active measures for extinguishing a system acknowledged on all hands to be at variance with the rights and best interests of humanity, the former has not yet taken even the initiatory step towards improvement by declaring that it is expedient to abolish Slavery as an institution, but is, on the contrary, striving its utmost to perpetuate and consolidate it.

#### THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, AND THE WESTERN-ASIA MISSIONS-AID SOCIETY.

WE have, on former occasions, called the attention of our readers to the unfortunate position of the *American Board* in relation to

the question of Slavery. We believe there are but few persons, interested in the progress of the anti-slavery cause, who are not by this time aware of the pro-slavery policy which that Association has adopted, and of the discussions to which it has given rise, both in America and in this country. Its advocates maintain that it has taken up an honest anti-slavery position by endorsing the letter known as Mr. Secretary Treat's, in relation to the mission amongst the Choctaws and Cherokees. Its opponents object that the anti-slavery action of the *Board* is only nominal, because its Missionaries are allowed to determine whether a slaveholder gives credible evidence of conversion, and the *Board* sanctions the admission of such slaveholder to church-fellowship: and further, because it maintains the lawfulness of selling away children from their parents, on the pretext that the act is not expressly prohibited by Scripture. Now, these facts being established and admitted, we believe no appeal made in this country, to sustain the operations of the *American Board*, would meet with sympathy; and so far from that, would even be resolutely opposed. In like manner and spirit would any attempt be met to establish an auxiliary to that *Board*. The grounds of opposition would, in such case, be so definite, that it would be impossible to resist action on them; and we believe that if the real position of the Society recently established in aid of Missions in Western Asia, in relation to the *American Board* were understood, its efforts would meet with no better success.

We regret, for the sake of the anti-slavery cause, that many of our leading philanthropists and ministers should have lent their influence and the weight of their names to a movement, which, whilst unexceptionable in its principal object, lies undoubtedly open to very grave objections in other respects. The general answer given to the remonstrances addressed to them is: "We are in no manner connected with the *American Board*. The funds raised for the Society in aid of Missions in Western Turkey are administered under our own officers, and not under those of the *Board*; and we do not see how, by promoting the spread of Gospel truth through the medium of this Society, we compromise our anti-slavery principles, or strengthen the influence of the *American Board*."

With all respect to those from whom we differ on this point, we beg to submit the following observations:

1st. The pro-slavery party in America is notoriously cherished in its strength by the advocacy of many professing to be ministers of the Gospel; by the countenance of leading religious Societies; and by the silent acquiescence of the great majority of ministers of all denominations in a pro-slavery interpretation of the Scriptures.

2d. The *American Board* is notoriously pro-slavery in its policy.

3d. The *Western-Turkey Missions-Aid Society* is an auxiliary to that *Board*, of which the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart., the Hon. A. Kinnaid, and the Rev. C. G. Young, have been nominated corresponding members.

4th. To this extent, these gentlemen and the *Western-Turkey Missions-Aid Society* are giving their support and patronage to a notoriously pro-slavery organization.

5th. The *American Board* is making use of their support of the new auxiliary, to extend its own influence in the United States, and refers to the formation of the new Society as a proof that the proceedings of the *Board* meet with the sympathy of British Christians.

6th. In relation to the administration of the funds, the *American Board* passed a resolution at its last Annual Meeting, in which the following passage occurs:

"Resolved, That in accepting this aid and trust, the Board pledge themselves not only to the faithful use of these Transatlantic contributions, to their best discretion, but," &c.\*

It is submitted that this passage directly contradicts the statement that the funds collected for the new Society are to be under the control of its own officers, and in nowise under that of the *Board*.

7th. It is a compromise of anti-slavery principle, to become even indirectly connected with a Missionary Association whose policy is pro-slavery, and that does not instruct its agents to take up decided anti-slavery grounds, on the principle that Slavery is opposed to Christianity.

On these broad principles we feel compelled to dissent from the views which are put forth by the advocates and supporters of the *Western-Turkey Missions-Aid Society*.

In relation to this subject, we subjoin an extract or two from a letter that appeared in the *Bristol Mercury* of the 31st March. It was signed by the Rev. George Armstrong, and places the leading features of the case in a very striking light. It appears that a meeting had been held in the Broad Mead Rooms on the 8th of the month, in support of the new Society, and it was in reference to the proceedings thereat, that Mr. Armstrong addressed the Editor. He says:

"It may be interesting to your readers to know:

"1st. That a firman has been recently issued by the Mahomedan sovereign of Turkey in these terms: Man is the most noble of all the creatures formed by the hand of God, who destined him to be happy in making him free-born. But contrary to that decision, the Circassians indulge in the habit of selling their children and relatives

\* Vide *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for January last.  
Ed. A. S. R.



as slaves, and even of stealing children from each other, in order to sell them like animals or articles of furniture. These proceedings, incompatible with the dignity of man, and contrary to the will of the Sovereign Creator, are altogether reprehensible, and I condemn them absolutely. Wherefore, &c.

"2d. That there is an institution in the United States called the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, under whose sanction and agency Missionaries employed among the Indian nations lay down the following principle: In relation to the separation of parents and children, we must first remark that it is one of those things which are not forbidden by express injunction of Scripture. It is impossible in our circumstances to make it a general rule that the separation of parents and children by sale or purchase shall be regarded as a disciplinary offence. We can never make it a test of piety, or a condition of admission to the privileges of the Church, that a candidate should express a determination not to live and die a slaveholder.

"3d. That this American Board so acting, or permitting its agents to act, and forgetful also of the 3,000,000 of souls in its own midst, to whom it dares not give a single copy of the Holy Scriptures, or prepare them for its reception by even teaching them to read, and holding church communion with, and otherwise granting its countenance, comfort, and connivance to the upholders of this God-denying and man-unmaking system—nevertheless thinks itself qualified to organize missions to the East of Europe to teach the subjects of the Sultan what they are to believe and do in order to be Christians.

"4th. That, it being considered of importance to this end to engage the assistance of the religious public in England, the Rev. Cuthbert G. Young, an agent in the interests of this Board, has presented himself in different parts of this country, and has been partially successful in inducing the said public to look upon the professedly evangelical objects alone of the missions to the East, apart from the slaveholding complicity of the body which sent them out; which holds as compatible with Christianity that buying and selling of parents and children for the purposes of Slavery, which has been condemned and prohibited as offensive to God, and insulting to human nature, by the sovereign head of the Mahomedan cult."

Mr. Armstrong proceeds to state that Mr. Young's mission had not been uniformly successful, on account of the connection of of his Society with the *American Board*; and that it had been his (Mr. Armstrong's) intention to present the subjoined resolution to the Meeting in question, in lieu of the one soliciting contributions for the Society of which Mr. Young is Secretary, but he was prevented by the discussion on the subject being stopped. The following was the intended amendment:

"Whereas, this Meeting having just grounds for regarding the agency of the Rev. C. G. Young in behalf of the *Western-Asia Mission Society* as more or less directly connected with the

*American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*; and, whereas, the *American Board of Missions*, representing as it does the leading religious denominations of the United States of America, which, as a whole, have been grievously faithless to the cause of the down-trodden slave, and have been justly described as 'the bulwark of American Slavery; therefore resolved, that this Meeting refuses to extend its sympathy or co-operation to an agency so tainted; and would testify its interest in Christian missions to the East, either by independent British agency, or by co-operation with the *American Missionary Association*, established in New York, of which the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the brother of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, is an influential member and supporter."

Mr. Armstrong concludes thus:

"Let it be known that this amendment was lost for want of a seconder in a religious meeting in the city of Bristol. Thus leaving painfully on the mind profound corroboration of the fact recorded by the illustrious lady just named, in her 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, pp. 426, 427, 'That even the sincere opponents of Slavery have formed altogether inadequate conceptions of the extent to which the cause of God on earth is imperilled by American Slavery, and of the duty of Christians in such a crisis.'"

We shall recur to this subject, from time to time, as necessity may require. Meanwhile we present to our readers the subjoined extracts from a letter recently received from Lewis Tappan, Esq., of New York, in relation to the charge brought against the *American Missionary*, by Mr. Secretary Treat, of its having published calumnious articles against the *American Board*.

"New York, March 20th, 1855.

"I called upon the Rev. J. B. Treat, one of the Secretaries of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, to furnish evidence that 'most untrue' charges had been made in the *American Missionary* against the Board, as he alleged in his letter to the Rev. G. C. Young, extracts from which were published in the *Reporter* of January 1st, 1855; but he declined pointing out such alleged charges, saying: 'I did not aver that the official paper of that Society had designedly made any untrue statements. I merely affirmed that it had made charges which were very severe, and which were also most untrue; adding that we had let them pass, because we disliked controversy with a Missionary body. Such being the case, I cannot feel that I am under any obligation to point out the statements in the *American Missionary* which we regard as untrue.'

"I respectfully called upon him again for a specification of the charges which he had asserted were 'most untrue,' and he replied:

"'Were I to accede to your wishes, a protracted correspondence would be very likely to ensue: for this I have neither time nor taste. I respectfully decline, therefore, a compliance with your request.'

"The public will judge how far it is correct

for the Secretary to make such an assertion respecting a Sister Missionary Society, and then decline furnishing proof of the correctness of the allegation. The truth is, very severe remarks have been made in the *American Missionary* respecting the conduct of the Board in its Indian Missions, &c., but nothing that was untrue.

"The *Independent* of the 15th had a calumnious article, respecting my Letter of the *Non-conformist*, published in the *Reporter* of the 1st January, and attempted to shew that there was a conspiracy (or, in the classical language of the Editor, a *fusion*) between the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, (Mr. Garrison's), the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, Rev. James Vincent, Mr. Pillsbury, and myself, to denounce the *American Board*. The unfairness of this is apparent. There is no 'fusion' between the two Societies; and neither Mr. Vincent's nor Mr. Pillsbury's remarks and statements in England respecting the *American Board*, so far as they were violent, uncharitable, or incorrect, have met with any approval on the part of the Committee or members of either the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, the *American Missionary Association*, or myself.

\* \* \* \* \*

"You will see in the *Independent* of the 15th and 22d instant, paragraphs relating to the article referred to, published at my request. Taken together, they carry their own meaning. While on many accounts I approve the course taken by this able and influential paper on the Anti-slavery subject, and on other subjects; yet I am constrained to believe, that with regard to its upholding the *American Board* in its complicity with Slavery at its Indian Missions, it has done great injury to the Anti-slavery cause, acted very inconsistently with its professions, and deserves the rebuke of all true-hearted abolitionists, both in this country and in England."

#### SLAVERY AND THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

In the November (1854) Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, we gave, under the above head, the copy of a letter which had been addressed to us, by Mr. Wm. Lillie, of Edinburgh, on the subject of the admission of slaveholders—nominal converts to Christianity—to church-fellowship, by the Missionaries of Old Calabar, in connection with the *United Presbyterian Church of Scotland*. The *Missionary Record*, the organ of the above body, gives, in the Number for February last, the answer of the committee on Foreign Missions to the question proposed by the Missionaries in Old Calabar, with regard to the admission of the owners of slaves into church-fellowship. It was proposed by a Sub-Committee, and unanimously adopted by the General Committee at their Meeting on the 2d of January ult., and is an extremely interesting, as well as an important document, from which we propose to give extracts in a future Number. The question appears to have been fully discussed, with a manifest desire to meet the difficulties which

surround its settlement. We have not space for more than a reference to the fact, and for the decision of the Committee, given below:

#### REPLY GIVEN TO THE QUESTION OF THE MISSIONARIES.

"As by the law and custom of Calabar, it appears that legal manumission is at present impracticable, and as the Missionaries would not be justified in excluding from the fellowship of the church, any that give satisfactory evidence of conversion, and that are willing to obey the laws of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Committee agree to state that, in accordance with the views above expressed, and guided by the resolutions of the Synod, they are of opinion that, in the present condition of society at Calabar, persons holding slaves may be admitted into church fellowship on their signing such a declaration as the following:

#### DECLARATION.

"Believing that all men are equal in the sight of God, and that under the Gospel there is in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free, I hereby, as a servant of Christ, bound to obey the commands of God's word, promise in the sight of the great God, my divine Master, that I shall regard those persons placed under my care, as *servants*, not as *property*; that I shall give them what is just and equal for their work; that I shall encourage them to obtain education for themselves and their children, and to attend on such means of religious instruction as the church may be able to afford them; that I shall endeavour, as far as I can, to secure the making of laws to promote personal freedom; that as soon as it can be done, I shall legally set free all those under my care; and that, in the mean time, I shall treat them with kindness and equity, it being my constant aim to act upon the command of the Lord Jesus Christ, to do unto others as I should wish them to do unto me."

"The Committee regard this arrangement as only temporary in its nature, and as applicable solely to a slaveholding country into which the Gospel has been newly introduced, and where circumstances stand in the way of legal manumission; for when, in the providence and by the blessing of God, the majority of freemen shall have been brought under the influence of Christian truth, the country having reached the second of the two states pointed out in the preceding paper, the legal abolition of Slavery should, as a matter of duty, take place. It results from the principles laid down, that if Christians being the majority, and having thus the power of legislation, shall decline to abolish Slavery, or if they shall, when manumission becomes legally practicable, deny this boon to their slaves, it will then clearly be the duty of the office-bearers of the church to exclude from fellowship those who refuse to put an end to this evil and unchristian thing. We anticipate better times for the long-degraded tribes of Negroland; and it will be an honoured vocation, if we as a church shall be instrumental in planting among them those truths and principles, which shall secure the salvation of their souls, and lead ultimately to the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. We know that the Gospel will by its transforming



energy abolish Slavery and all other evils throughout the entire heathen world; we have no doubt that our Missionaries will in the future, as they have done in the past, faithfully teach the doctrines and administer the laws of Christ; and we trust that the period is not very remote when their instructions, in conjunction with those of other devoted Missionaries, blessed by the Spirit, will change the sinful laws and customs of Central Africa; heal the wounds which the foreign slave-trade has inflicted; remove the eating sore of domestic Slavery; emancipate from corporeal and spiritual thralldom, the numerous millions of that now wretched land, and make them the happy freedmen of Jesus Christ, 'fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.'"

In immediate connection with this subject, we append the following correspondence, which appeared in a recent Number of the *Scottish Press*, addressed to the Editor.

SLAVERY IN WESTERN AFRICA.

"1 Newington Place, April 5, 1855.

"SIR,—By the last mail steamer from America, I received the enclosed letter from Lewis Tappan, Esq., New York, Treasurer of the *American Missionary Association*, (a Society based on thorough Anti-slavery principles,) in reply to inquiries as to whether the Missionaries at Kaw-Mendi, on the west coast of Africa, a place having a population and laws very similar to Calabar, felt themselves under any necessity to admit those among their converts who were slaveholders to the fellowship of their Mission Churches.

"I beg to offer Mr. Tappan's letter to you for insertion in the *Scottish Press*, believing that to many of your readers it will possess much interest.—I am, &c.,

W. LILLIE."

(Copy.)

"Brooklyn, New York, March 16, 1855.

"WM. LILLIE, Esq.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your notes of 14th and 23d February were duly received—the first, while I was in Massachusetts. I received the pamphlet also. While contending here with earnestness for the non-fellowship of slaveholders by the churches, it is very painful to see that a respectable body of Christians in Scotland should allow their Missionaries at Calabar to receive such persons into communion.

"Our Mission at Kaw-Mendi, West Africa, has been established about fifteen years. No slaveholder or slavetrader has ever been admitted to the communion of the churches. The Gospel has been faithfully preached in the hearing of kings and chiefs, all of whom have been, and some of them are still, slaveholders and slave-traders. The sinfulness of these practices has been fully set forth, and their utter incompatibility with Christianity has been stated, and the chiefs have acknowledged that slavetrading and slaveholding are contrary to the will of God. If a contrary doctrine had been preached, and especially if any one having the slightest complicity with Slavery had been admitted to church privileges, the preaching would have done no good. The heathen, even, would have considered it unwor-

thy of confidence. The inculcation of peace, temperance, and Anti-slavery principles, has been attended with the happiest effects—many souls have been converted—the chiefs everywhere are imploring the establishment of new Missionary stations, schools, &c.

"The Rev. John G. Fee, a native of Kentucky, and one of our home Missionaries, is preaching in Kentucky against admitting slaveholders to the communion, and he has founded two or three churches on the principle of refusing all fellowship with ministers or other persons who either hold slaves, defend the system, or have any connection with it. Although he has met with opposition, yet he continues his labours with increasing success. We have in North Carolina—another Slave State—several Missionaries, who are inculcating the same doctrine; and although the opposition has often been very great, the devoted Missionaries continue their labours, maintain the principles of non-fellowship, and are meeting with great success. I send you with this a pamphlet by Mr. Fee, on Non-Fellowship. Large numbers of them have been circulated in Kentucky.

"We maintain that it is better that a real Christian be kept from the communion, whilst he has any connection with Slavery, than that the cause of Christ should be dishonoured by his connection with the church, on the ground that he is doing what is disgraceful to the Christian name, or will bring reproach upon the sacred cause.

"Some years since, when I was officiating as an elder in a Presbyterian Church in New York, on a communion Sabbath, the minister, Rev. C. G. Finney, announced, that while he invited all evangelical Christians in good and regular standing to partake of the Lord's Supper, he could not invite slaveholders. A merchant from the State of Alabama, who was also an elder in the Presbyterian Church, was present: he sat in silence, and, when the elements were presented to him, declined receiving them. The next day, on meeting him, he said to me—'I thought at first your minister was very hard with me, but on reflection I felt that, being a slaveholder, I had no right to be at the Lord's table.' He solemnly promised to liberate his slaves. Whether he ever did, I am not informed,

"Nothing, in my opinion, will have so beneficial an effect upon the conscience and heart of slaveholders, who are Christians, as denying them church privileges, until they free themselves from all complicity with Slavery and slaveholding. When this rule shall be adopted in this country extensively, Slavery will soon terminate; but while slaveholders are admitted to church-fellowship, the Gospel will be comparatively powerless. Such are our principles, and such our experience.

"Kaw-Mendi is south of Sierra Leone, about 100 miles, and about forty miles from the ocean.

\* \* \* \*

"Very truly yours,

"LEWIS TAPPAN,

"Treasurer of the *American Missionary Association*."



## REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

We give the following extracts from a speech delivered by the Hon. Charles Sumner, in the Senate of the United States, on the occasion of presenting his motion to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law. The speech was delivered on the 23d of February last, and incidentally in the course of a discussion on the presentation of "a Bill to protect officers and other persons acting under the authority of the United States." Having exposed in a masterly manner the specious character of the proposed Bill, the real object of which was to give greater power to the officers and others to execute the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law; and having proved that any Free State has the right to determine for itself whether the clause in the Constitution relating to the surrender of "persons held to service or labour" be really applicable to *fugitive Slaves*, the Honourable Senator spoke as follows:

Sir, the Bill before you may have the sanction of Congress; and in yet other ways you may seek to sustain the Fugitive Slave Act. But it will be in vain. You undertake what no legislation can accomplish. Courts, too, may come forward, and lend it their sanction. All this, too, will be in vain. I respect the learning of judges; I reverence the virtue, more than learning, by which their lives are often adorned. But nor learning, nor virtue, when, with mistaken force, bent to this purpose, can avail. I assert confidently, Sir, and ask the Senate to note my assertion, that there is no court, howsoever endowed with judicial qualities, or surrounded by public confidence, which is strong enough to lift this Act into any permanent consideration or respect. It may seem, for a moment, to accomplish the feat. Its decision may be enforced, amidst tears and agonies. A fellow-man may be reduced anew to Slavery. But all will be in vain. The Act cannot be upheld! Any thing so entirely vile, so absolutely atrocious, would drag an angel down. Sir, it must drag down every court, which in an evil hour ventures to sustain it.

"And yet, Sir, in zeal to support this enormity, Senators have not hesitated to avow a purpose to break down the recent legislation of States, calculated to shield the liberty of their citizens. 'It is difficult,' says Burke, 'to frame an indictment against a whole people.' But here in the Senate, where are convened the jealous representatives of the States, we have heard whole States arraigned, as if already guilty of crime. The Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. BENJAMIN,] in plaintive tones has set forth the ground of proceeding, and more than one sovereign State has been summoned to judgment. It would be easy to shew, by a critical inquiry, that this whole charge is without just foundation, and that all the legislation so much condemned is as clearly defensible under the Constitution, as it is meritorious in purpose.

"Sir, the only crime of these States is, that Liberty has been placed before Slavery. Follow

the charge, point by point, and this will be apparent. In securing to every person claimed as a slave the protection of trial by jury and the *habeas corpus*, they simply provide safeguards, strictly within the province of every State, and rendered necessary by the usurpation of the Fugitive Act. In securing the aid of counsel to every person claimed as a slave, they but perform a kindly duty, which no phrase or word in the Constitution can be tortured to condemn. In visiting with severe penalties every malicious effort to reduce a fellow-man to Slavery, they respond to the best feelings of the human heart. In prohibiting the use of the county jails and buildings as barracoons and slave-pens; in prohibiting all public officers, holding the commission of the State, in any capacity—whether as chief-justice or justice of the peace, whether as Governor or constable—from any service as a slave-hunter; in prohibiting the *volunteer militia* of the State, in its organized form, from any such service, the States simply exercise a power under the Constitution, recognised by the Supreme Court of the United States, even while upholding Slavery, in the fatal *Prigg* case, by POSITIVE PROHIBITION, to withdraw its own officers from this offensive business.

"For myself, let me say that I look with no pleasure on any possibility of conflict between the State and National jurisdictions; but I trust that, if the interests of Freedom so require, the States will not hesitate. From the beginning of this controversy, I have sought, as I will seek, to awaken another influence, which, without the possibility of conflict, will be mightier than any act of Congress and the sword of the National Government. I mean an enlightened, generous, humane, Christian public opinion, which shall blast with contempt, indignation, and abhorrence, all who, in whatever form, or under whatever name, undertake to be agents in enslaving a fellow-man. Sir, such an opinion you cannot bind or subdue. Against its subtle, pervasive influence, your legislation and the decrees of courts will be powerless. Already in Massachusetts, I am proud to believe, it begins to prevail; and the Fugitive Act will soon be there a dead letter.

"Mr. President, since things are so, it were well to remove this Act from our statute-book, that it may no longer exist as an occasion of ill-will and a point of conflict. Let the North be relieved from this usurpation, and the first step will be taken towards permanent harmony. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BENJAMIN] has proclaimed anew to-night what he has before declared on this floor—that Slavery is a subject with which the Federal Government has nothing to do. I thank him for teaching the Senate that word. True, most true, Sir, ours is a Government of Freedom, which has nothing to do with Slavery. This is the doctrine which I have ever maintained, and which I am happy to find recognised in form, if not in reality, by the Senator from Louisiana. The Senator then proceeded to declare that, 'all that the South asks is to be let alone.' This request is moderate. And I say, for the North, that all that we ask is to be let alone. Yes, Sir, let us alone. Do not involve us in the support of Slavery. Hug the viper to your bosoms, if you perversely will, within your

own States, until it stings you to a generous remorse, but do not compel us to hug it too; for this I assure you we will not do.

"But the Senator from Louisiana, with these professions on his lips, proceeds to ask, doubtless with complete sincerity, but in strange forgetfulness of the history of our country: 'Did we ever bring this subject into Congress?' Yes, Sir, that was his inquiry, as if there had been any moment, from the earliest days of the Republic, when the supporters of Slavery had ceased to bring this subject into Congress. Almost from the beginning it has been there, through the exercise of *usurped power*, nowhere given under the Constitution; for I am glad to believe that the Constitution of my country contains no words out of which Slavery, or the power to support Slavery, can be derived; and this conclusion, I doubt not, will yet be affirmed by the courts. And yet the Honourable Senator asks: 'Did we ever bring this subject into Congress?' The answer shall be plain and explicit. Sir, you brought Slavery into Congress, when, shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, you sanctioned it in the District of Columbia, within the national jurisdiction, and adopted that barbarous slave-code, still extant on your statute-book, which the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. GILLETTE] has so eloquently exposed to-night. You brought Slavery into Congress, when at the same period you accepted the cession of territories from North Carolina and Georgia, now constituting States of the Union, with conditions in favour of Slavery, and thus began to sanction Slavery in territories within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress. You brought Slavery into Congress, when, at different times, you usurped a power, not given by the Constitution, over Fugitive Slaves, and by most offensive legislation thrust your arms into distant Northern homes. You brought Slavery into Congress, when, by express legislation, you regulated the coastwise slave-trade, and thus threw the national shield over a traffic on the coast of the United States, which on the coast of Congo you justly brand as 'piracy.' You brought Slavery into Congress, when, from time to time, you sought to introduce new States with slaveholding Constitutions into the National Union. And permit me to say, Sir, you brought Slavery into Congress when you called upon it, as you have done even at this very Session, to pay for slaves; and thus, in defiance of a cardinal principle of the Constitution, made the National Government recognise property in men. And yet the Senator from Louisiana, with strange simplicity, says that the South only asks to be let alone. Sir, the Honourable Senator only borrows the language of the North, which, at each of these usurpations, exclaims, 'Let us alone.' And let me say, frankly, that peace can never prevail until you do let us alone—until this subject of Slavery is banished from Congress by the triumph of Freedom—until Slavery is driven from its usurped foothold, and Freedom is made national instead of sectional—and until the National Government is brought back to the precise position it occupied on the day that Washington took his first oath as President of the United States, when there was no Fugitive Act, and the national flag, as it floated over the national ter-

ritory, within the jurisdiction of Congress, nowhere covered a single slave.

"And now, Sir, as an effort in the true direction of the Constitution; in the hope of beginning the divorce of the National Government from Slavery, and to remove all occasion for the proposed measure under consideration, I shall close what I have to say with a motion to repeal the Fugitive Act. Twice already, since I have had the honour of a seat on this floor, I have pressed that question to a vote, and I mean to press it again to-night. After the protracted discussion, involving the character of this enactment, such a motion seems logically to belong to this occasion, and may fitly close its proceedings.

"At a former session, on introducing this proposition, I discussed it at length, in an argument, which I fearlessly assert has never been answered, and now, in this debate, I have already touched upon various objections. There are yet other things which might be urged. I might exhibit the abuses which have occurred under the Fugitive Act; the number of free persons it has doomed to Slavery; the riots it has provoked; the brutal conduct of its officers; the distress it has scattered; the derangement of business it has caused, interfering even with the administration of justice, changing court-houses into barracks and barracoons, and filling streets with armed men, amidst which law is silent. All these things I might expose. But in these hurried moments, I forbear. Suffice it to say, that the proposition to repeal the existing Fugitive Act stands on adamant grounds, which no debate or opposition can shake.

"There are considerations belonging to the present period which give new strength to this proposition. Public Opinion, which, under a popular Government, makes and unmakes laws, and which, for a time, was passive and acquiescent, now lifts itself everywhere in the States where the Act is sought to be enforced, and demands a change. Already three States, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Michigan, by formal resolutions presented to the Senate, have concurred in this demand. The tribunals of law are joining at last with the people. The superior court of Cincinnati has denied the power of Congress over this subject. And now, almost while I speak, comes the solemn judgment of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin—a sovereign State of this Union—made after elaborate argument, on successive occasions, before a single judge, and then before the whole bench, declaring this Act to be a violation of the Constitution. In response to Public Opinion, broad and general, if not universal at the North, swelling alike from village and city, from the seaboard and lakes—judicially attested, legislatively declared, and represented, also, by numerous petitions from good men without distinction of party—in response to this Public Opinion, as well as in obedience to my own fixed convictions, I deem it my duty not to lose this opportunity of pressing the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act once more upon the Senate. I move, Sir, to strike out all after the enacting clause in the pending Bill, and insert instead thereof these words:

"That the Act of Congress, approved Septem-



ber 18, 1850, usually known as the "Fugitive Slave Act," be, and the same hereby is, repealed."

"And on this motion I ask the yeas and nays."

### A CUBAN ON SLAVERY.

WE resume our notice of Don Lorenzo Allo's lecture on Slavery. He combats as follows the arguments made use of by the advocates of the system :

#### REFUTATION OF ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF SLAVERY.

"The arguments that are alleged in favour of Slavery are nothing more than simple sophistries against Christianity, against morality, and against political economy. Let us look at these arguments.

"*First.* 'The patriarchs held slaves; therefore Slavery is good.' The sacred Scriptures contain two distinct portions, one doctrinal, the other historical. The fact that the patriarchs held slaves belongs to the historical portion; but this does not sanction, merely narrates ancient events, be they good or evil; whilst the doctrinal portion of the Scriptures condemns all the errors on which the Slavery of man is based. Besides, the word slavery or servitude has had distinct significations. The patriarchs did not mark the brow of the slave with iron, nor his condition with ignominy. Jacob became a servant that he might win the hand of Rachel. Joseph was a slave, and yet was the adviser of Pharaoh. At that time the world was not illumined with the light of the Gospel; and nevertheless the Slavery of to-day is more horrible than it was in the early ages, and even among the enemies of the conquered people.

"*Second.* 'Slavery is a very delicate subject, and so to discuss it may produce enormous evils.' I look upon it in this other light, 'Slavery is a very delicate subject, and so not to discuss it may produce enormous evils.' For these thirty years I have been accustomed to hear that it is not yet the proper time to discuss Slavery. How is the time designated? For me, it is always time to impugn whatever is evil, whatever is immoral, whatever outrages humanity, and whatever may inflict on Cuba great injuries. Man is distinguished from the brute by his intelligence, and the soul of intelligence is discussion. To combat Slavery is to second the will of God.

"*Third.* 'To speak of emancipation, is to allow the slaves to learn that their freedom is pleaded for, which might impel them to declare it themselves.' Even admitting that they might comprehend our desire, so long as that desire is good, moral, and Christian, I can only deduce from it that it would attract to us their gratitude, their co-operation, and their enthusiasm for our own liberty.

"*Fourth.* 'Cuba, with slaves, has prospered much.' Cuba has no workshops, manufactories, schools, occupations for indigent women and children; it has no roads, canals, immigration; it has no sovereignty; it has no laws; it has not even peace for the repose of its children. That is not prosperity, and if it be so designated I do not desire it for my country. It is true that the

agriculture of Cuba has progressed considerably in half a century; but the progress which that agriculture has made with slaves is in proportion to what it would have made without them, as one to a thousand. God has not condemned any country to hold slaves, and least of all Cuba, where labour obtains an hundred-fold reward, and whose virgin lands, refreshed with the breezes of the temperate zone of the north, allure her sons with all the tropical products. Texas, in a few years, has increased her population ten-fold; and California has increased hers with greater rapidity. Cuba, without slaves and with good laws, might have millions of souls.

"*Fifth.* 'In all Republics, including that of the United States, there have been slaves.' To think thus, is to be ignorant of human progress. Not only Republics, but all countries, have had idolatry, theocracy, tyranny, the rack, dislike to labour, a restrictive system, and even human victims; and these institutions have fallen as Slavery shall fall, or rather as it is falling. Feudal Europe has slaves; so had the Spanish-American republics. Tunis had them; and the English and French colonies had them; they have them no longer. When science proclaims an idea which is good, civilizing, and moral, the people are not slow to adopt it; and if they do not attempt it at the instant, it is because despots prohibit it, or because the people are meditating upon it. But I will limit myself to the existence of slaves in the United States. The errors of society are the condition of progress. With the compass, by which the immense progresses of the United States are measured, with that compass are measured, also, the immense errors which her laws have corrected; and those errors are nothing more than the gloomy legacy of the Old British legislation. The United States, from the time of her independence, comprehended how fatal a thing Slavery is. Mistress of her own destiny, her first step was its destruction.

"With the independence of the United States the African trade ceased; in the Northern States Slavery was abolished; the foundation of Liberia—an idea the most honourable to civilization—is a new bulwark against Slavery in this country; and California has already emancipated the slaves which were within her borders. Here are arguments which are facts, and which afford confirmation that the United States are endeavouring to extinguish Slavery.

"*Sixth.* 'To speak against Slavery is to alienate the Southern States of the American Union from the cause of Cuba.' If to combat Slavery were to alienate the South from our cause, it would, for the same reason, attract the North to its support: consequently the loss would be compensated, and the duty of opposing Slavery would not have even the shadow of objection. But the Southern States of America, as well as the Northern States, are interested in behalf of Cuba; not because she may or may not have slaves, but that they may establish in Cuba new markets, new branches of business, new sources of wealth, and that they may export from the mouth of the Mississippi, and from other centres of trade, their products into the adjacent points of Cuba. Besides, what injury would the Southern States



sustain by our emancipating our slaves? California has liberated hers, and the same interest in her continues to inspire them: the Northern States emancipated theirs also, and their interest in them has not altered. The same thing would take place with respect to Cuba, who, by the Federal Constitution of the United States, would be always authorized to keep or to manumit her slaves, according as it served her uses and pleasure.

"*Seventh.* 'Many Cubans will regard independence as an evil, if it involve the liberation of the slaves, and, far from co-operating in it, will remain indifferent, or will support the Spanish Government.' I do not believe thus of my countrymen. I consider them as being more intelligent, more sensible, and possessing more patriotism and more humanity. I believe that the Cubans thoroughly comprehend that labour depends on intelligence, that our want of workshops and our industrial backwardness proceed solely from slavery. I believe that they are interested in the condition of our poor women, that they are not ignorant that Slavery is demoralizing, and that they know that with Slavery there is no security for their wealth, nor future for their children. If the Cubans now make use of slave-labour, it is because the Spanish Government is opposed to the existence of other labour. Don Domingo Goicouria, and other good Cubans, have solicited permission to introduce white labourers, and have presented projects and means for the carrying out of their idea, and the Spanish Government has always repulsed them, that it might continue the African slave-trade. But the Cubans would prefer free labourers, because they are not insensate, and because they understand the civilization of the nineteenth century—a civilization which point the harmonies existing between wealth, intelligence, and the doctrines of morality. To unite, therefore, the cause of humanity to that of the independence of Cuba, is not to drive from it our brothers; it is, on the contrary, to enlist them under its banner.

"*Eighth.* 'To emancipate the Cuban slaves, is to place the blacks on an equal footing in every respect with the white, to which even the bitterest abolitionists are opposed.' This sophism is even ridiculous. In the Northern States there are great numbers of free Negroes; and they have schools, churches, societies of various kinds, and even military companies, without there being that identification which it is pretended to dread. In the Southern States, as well as in Cuba, there are very many free Negroes, and there does not exist any such mixture with the whites. Laws are one thing, and customs another. To plead that there be no slaves in a country is not to plead for the mixture of two different races. If Slavery were abolished in Cuba, the slave of to-day would be elevated to the rank which free Negroes enjoy, to their own benefit and ours. That will be always the result of every thing which is good, moral, humane, and Christian.

"*Ninth.* 'To emancipate the Negroes is to give them an opportunity of becoming enlightened and of destroying us.' The history of slaves is the history of conspirators, of the enemies of labour, of political revolts, and of the demoralization and extermination of peoples: to give to

the slaves liberty, property, intelligence, family interests, and a future, is to interest them in the peace, the order, the labour, the morality, and the well-being of societies. History teaches that, our eyes see that, and it is taught to us by morality, political economy, Christianity, and even by common sense: Slavery is contrary to nature, and to abolish that which is contrary to nature, is not to injure, but to save societies."

#### THE NEW-YORK VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

We copy from a recent Number of the *New-York Independent*, the following appeal to American citizens, on behalf of the above-named organization, whose objects will, we feel assured, also commend themselves heartily to the friends of the slave in this country.

##### HELP THE FUGITIVE SLAVE.

"The *New-York Vigilance Committee*, whose centre is in this city, is an association especially to aid fugitive slaves, by receiving them on their arrival, procuring passage, and paying their expenses to places of safety. In this way it disburses from one to two thousand dollars annually. The funds are made up by voluntary contributions. For the last three years they have been mainly sustained by donations from Scotland and this city (New York): and no appeal has been made to friends in the country. For the year 1854 their receipts from abroad were much less than for the preceding two years, yet the number of persons aided was greater. The amount paid on some days, simply for fare to safe homes, has been as high as sixty-five dollars. In the month of January last, the number assisted was twenty-eight. On New-year's day, one member of the Committee was called upon by the agent, to come to his house to consult about dispatching a company who had just arrived, where he found nine men and two women; at the same time there were two others of the company at a friend's house; in all, thirteen. We mention this, to shew how they come. Could the history of one of these women be told, you would regard her as a heroine worthy to be named. Still they come; and the Committee have not one dollar in the treasury to help the next person that arrives, and hardly know where to get it. The benevolent treasurer of the committee has paid, from his private purse, more than one hundred dollars. We think it is time for him to stop, and let the friends of the slave, in city and country, know the state of the case, and come forward and replenish this treasury of the Lord, and thus do their part in aiding the fugitive slave. This statement is made as an appeal to the readers of this paper, to remember the fugitive, and to send to the Committee money to aid him. Every dollar thus sent we will guarantee will be thus applied, and thus only.

"*P. S.*—Money can be forwarded to Charles B. Ray, No. 48, Beekman Street, New York."

Any one desirous of promoting the object<sup>s</sup> of the above-named Association, may send contributions to L. A. Chamerovzow, No. 27, New Broad Street, London, who will duly transmit the same, by earliest opportunity.

## THE SLAVE.

WE announced in a previous Number that the Editorship and Proprietorship of *The Slave* had passed into the hands of our friend Elihu Burritt. We have received the first Numbers of the new series, and shall be glad to learn that its circulation is increasing. We cannot better promote its success than by a notice of it in our columns from time to time. We extract from the Number for January the following editorial, which is worthy of attentive perusal, and which sets forth in a clear and forcible manner the distinct grounds upon which Slavery is to be considered a sin:

"We add the editorship of this little periodical to our other labours with great pleasure, with the hope that its usefulness may be continued, as a cheap and effective medium for a wide dissemination of light and truth on the subject of Slavery. Especially is this pleasure enhanced by the fact that *The Slave*, from the beginning, has advocated the free-labour principle as one, if not the most effectual, agency for general emancipation. While under our administration, we intend it shall not 'bate one jot of heart or hope' in reference to the rectitude and successful working of that principle. As we have also assumed, at the same time, the charge of the only organ of the free-labour movement in America, we think we may have access to nearly all the facts connected with this important department of the Anti-slavery cause, and hope to make this little monthly messenger interesting and useful, as the disseminator of these items of information. We intend also to glean and present, from month to month, all the signs of progress in the Anti-slavery cause; the new forms of sympathy with it which may be manifested, and which shall denote that new influences are mining the foundations of the huge system of oppression and wrong. These must tend to inspire a hopeful spirit in the friends of the slave, and nerve them for new efforts in his behalf. It will not do at all to be always looking for clouds, blackness, and blight. There are plenty of these discouraging aspects at any time for the eye to be exclusively fixed upon, if one has a *penchant* for gloom and doubt. But there is sky as well as clouds, and sun, and moon, and stars, with serene and hopeful beams, and these should ever cheer the worker. To these we would commend the friend of the slave frequently; and we hope he may often catch pleasant glimpses of 'the good time coming,' in the short paragraphs he may hereafter read in this little publication. For that purpose we intend to make it the record of all progressive steps in the Anti-slavery movement of public opinion and legislative action, especially in America.

"THE GREAT CRIME OF SLAVERY is the *chattelization* of a human being. This is the

most aggravated species of robbery that can be perpetrated upon man or woman. In all countries, in all circumstances, this crime, unlike all others, admits of but one degree. Every friend of the slave should be careful to entertain right views on this subject, for many have erred in reference to it. Many have dwelt upon the physical cruelties involved in the system, as constituting its great sin and wrong. *Uncle Tom* in the hands of *Legrée* has been, in their eyes, a thrilling illustration of Slavery. In the house of St. Clare he made his nearest approach to the condition of freedom seemingly to them. But under both he was equally a *chattel*; and it is that sole condition that contains all the moral degradation than can be inflicted on man as the image of his Maker. It is as the slave of the brilliant, generous, careless St. Clare, that we see on the forehead of the sable saint the deepest mark of humiliation. He was, in all the comforts of that mansion, a *chattel*. In the enlightened eyes of his indulgent master there were qualities in the character of Uncle Tom and *Legrée* overlooked, or held as valueless. There were virtues in the negro Christian which the brutal master did not recognise—for which he would not pay. But St. Clare saw them—St. Clare *paid* for them. The working of the Holy Spirit in the bondman's heart; his Christian graces; his daily walk and communion with his Saviour; his life of prayer, faith, love; the ever-present evidence and assurance of his acceptance with God, and all his great and glowing hopes of a blessed immortality, were all so many distinct *pecuniary* values in the eyes of St. Clare, and he *paid* for them liberally, after the estimation of the auction-block. He *chattelized* these divine attributes and influences. He paid virtually two distinct prices for Uncle Tom—one for his bone and muscle, as a physical being; another, for the Holy Ghost working and shining in his soul. In this is the great, unspeakable sin of Slavery. It is the greatest blasphemy that can be perpetrated against God and His creature man. It not only outrages and degrades humanity, but hurls the most aggravated insult at the Divine nature. It not only sells the Lord of Life and Glory on the auction-block, in the person of the slave, but sells in him, under the same hammer, the Holy Ghost itself. The fallen image of God, broad-shouldered, strong, and hardy, as a physical being, will bring 1000 dollars in the market. This is the purchase price of that humanity in him, in the very like of which the Saviour of mankind accomplished the redemption of the world on Calvary. But let the Holy Spirit make him a new creature in Christ Jesus, and fill his soul with all the graces and beatitudes of Christian faith and life, and the man-seller will knock him off to a St. Clare for 1500 dollars.

Herein is the great sin of Slavery, and it can never, never be modified. Tender Christian masters cannot do it. Nay, they aggravate it. Above all others, they are most likely to see and *value* the Christian graces in the slave. Above all others, they are most likely to *bid* and *pay* the most for these graces. Above all others, they are most likely to sin against the Holy Spirit in this way, by buying and selling its presence and operation in the soul of a fellow-immortal for money. The moral character of Slavery, therefore, cannot be raised an iota by any amount of tenderness or indulgence in the treatment of the enslaved. The more they are elevated, and made to approximate to the condition of sons and daughters of their masters; the more they are instructed, and inspired with refined sensibilities; the more they are raised up into the heavenly experiences of spiritual life, the more high and noble qualities, virtues, and graces must be *chattelized*—must be bought and sold, and held at a pecuniary value."

### NOTICES.

#### FREE LABOUR BAZAAR.

A *Free Labour Bazaar*, in connection with the *League of Universal Brotherhood*, is to be held on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 30th and 31st of May, and the 1st of June proximo, at the HALL OF COMMERCE, Threadneedle Street. The admission will be by Tickets, One Shilling each, and the doors are to be opened every morning at eleven o'clock. The Tickets are not transferable, and will admit the purchaser every day. Children under twelve years old, half price.

Contributions for the Bazaar should be forwarded to Mrs. Inglis, Free Labour Depot, 22 Broad Street, Buildings, London, on or before the 26th of May.

#### OLIVE-LEAF SOIREE.

The Annual Meeting and Soirée of the *League of Universal Brotherhood* will be held at the LONDON TAVERN, on Monday evening, May the 28th. Tea at half-past six. Tickets of Admission, price Two Shillings, may be had at the Office, 35 Broad Street Buildings, London.

#### ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held at the Friends' Meeting House, White Hart Court, on Wednesday Evening, May the 23rd.

S. Gurney, Esq., President.

The Chair will be taken at o'clock, and the Rev. Wm. Gill from Ruru Tongu, with Isaiah, a native Chief, will address the Meeting.

### Advertisements.

#### THE EMPIRE.

A FIRST CLASS METROPOLITAN JOURNAL, under the management of Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON,

late M.P. for the Tower Hamlets, has a circulation, according to recent Stamp returns, which place it nearly at the head of the London Weekly Press. The departments of THE EMPIRE are—the Platform, the Throne, the Parliament, the Nations, the Colonies, the Metropolis, the Provinces, the Scotch, the Irish, the Churches, the Field, the Medley, the Bench, the War, the Editorial, the Voice of the People, the Library, the Portfolio, the Drama, the Museum, the Poet, the Bookworm, the Farm, the Mausoleum, the Budget of Wit, the Mart, and the Family. Letters from "Saxon," "Defoe," "Ex M.P.," &c., weekly. A specimen copy sent to any address in the kingdom on receipt of five postage stamps. Annual Subscriptions One Guinea; half-yearly, 10s. 6d.; and quarterly, 5s. 3d. Business letters and advertisements should be sent to Mr. THOMAS DICK, at the Office, 145, Fleet Street, London. All other communications addressed to "the Editors of *The Empire*."

Now ready, price One Shilling, neatly bound, with a Portrait,

#### SLAVE LIFE IN GEORGIA.

BEING THE NARRATIVE OF  
JOHN BROWN,

A Fugitive Slave now in England.

EDITED BY

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,

Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

#### OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

To those who still believe that American Slavery is not so bad as it has been painted, we would recommend the simple narrative of John Brown, the fugitive slave. Its unadorned eloquence and plain statement of facts will do more to sweep away any remaining traces of incredulity from their minds, than the most elaborate productions of the anti-slavery press.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Mr. John Brown writes in no bitter spirit, and is evidently solicitous to keep within the limits of truth.—*Athenæum*.

It bears internal evidence of being substantially true, being consistent with other testimonies of fugitive slaves, while containing sufficient diversity of circumstances to mark its individuality.—*Anti-Slavery Advocate*.

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